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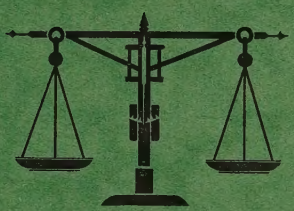
A REVIEW OF SOVIET WRITING
ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA



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THE MIZAN NEWSLETTER

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The Mizan Newsletter aims at giving an objective and balanced account of current Soviet writings on the Middle East and Africa

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MIDDLE EAST

"Dictatorship" in the Arab World is an account of an article by Fuad Nassar, the Secretary-General of the Jordanian Communist Party, in SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK. Fuad Nassar complains that the Arab national movement has been in virtual eclipse since its "bourgeois" leaders rejected cooperation with the Communists; he refers to their regime as "dictatorship".

The Working Class in Egypt examines the extent to which a new book on the subject by F.M. Atsamba fulfils official requirements of analyzing the working class in the light of its potentialities for organized political struggle.

The Middle East in the Soviet Press includes items on the UAR, Iraq, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Turkey and Persia.

AFRICA

African Studies in Moscow examines the characteristics of the Soviet approach to African studies, as shown in the organization and activities of the Africa Institute in Moscow.

Africa's Future: The Soviet View introduces a new booklet by Dr. I.I. Potekhin, AFRICA LOOKS AHEAD, an abridgement of which accompanies this issue as a supplement. The booklet is a statement of the basic Soviet views on the problems facing African countries and peoples and on the ideals which they ought to set themselves.

Africa in the Soviet Press includes Soviet reports on the Congo, Portuguese Africa, South Africa and the Commonwealth Conference, and Algeria.

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M I D D L E E A S T

"DICTATORSHIP" IN THE ARAB WORLD

From time to time articles by leading Communists of Asian and African countries have appeared in the pages of SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK. They have usually written about the political situation in their respective countries, and the aims and programme of their party. A recent article by Fuad Nassar, the Secretary-General of the Jordanian Communist Party, is of more than local interest however (SOVREM. VOST. No.2 of 1961). He deals with the present situation of the "Arab national liberation movement" as a whole, and in particular with the situation of the Communist movement in the Arab countries.

Communism and the Arab national movement At the outset of his article Fuad Nassar, examining the development of the "Arab liberation movement", insists on two points: that it could not have developed without the existence of the "socialist system" and without the victory of the Soviet Union against fascism, and that after the Second World War it was the Communist Parties which infused "new blood" into the Arab national liberation movement and "enriched it with new ideas and raised it to a higher level". It is significant that Fuad Nassar quotes from the communique of the recent Moscow conference of Communist Parties (on the subject of the inevitable "complete triumph of socialism"). In this document the Middle East Communist Parties, like others, can find new assurance of Soviet backing for their aspirations.

Fuad Nassar goes on to examine "the character and aims of the Arab liberation movement". He finds that "it is impossible to regard it as uniform and homogeneous, making use of the same methods in every country". In some countries, he says, it is possible that the "national democratic revolution" will be achieved; others may be on the threshold of such a revolution; and others, such as Algeria, Oman and the Southern Arabian protectorates, are still fighting against imperialist oppression.

> "From what has been said it is also clear that it would be erroneous to link the success of the national democratic revolution even in its first stage with the question of Arab unity.

> The union of two or more Arab countries without regard for the conditions peculiar to each of them can entail serious negative consequences both for the Arab liberation movement as a whole and for the development of the national democratic revolution in each Arab country."

At the present time, Fuad Nassar goes on, the national liberation struggle of the Arab peoples is being conducted under the leadership, "or at least with the active participation," of the national bourgeoisie. In a number of countries this struggle has achieved notable successes, in the formation of independent states, their withdrawal from military pacts and blocs, the liquidation of military bases on their territory, the replacement of a monarchical system by a republican regime, limitations on land ownership, the nationalization of foreign property, the formation of a national industry and a state economic sector, measures to liberate the economy from foreign domination, and the establishment of diplomatic, economic and cultural links with the countries of the socialist camp. But this, Fuad Nassar implies, is not enough:

> "All these changes, nevertheless, although they have their positive aspects for the working class and the peasant masses, and also for the ensuing development of the national democratic revolution, have all been within the framework of capitalism and have been effected above all in the interests of the bourgeoisie. One may therefore say that although the national liberation movement in various Arab countries has achieved important successes, it is still in the stage of national democratic revolution."

This is a somewhat striking statement. The phrases "national democracy" and "national democratic revolution" have only recently been adopted by the world Communist movement, at the Moscow conference, in reference to those states which, while not "socialist", nevertheless follow a "revolutionary" domestic and foreign policy which merits Communist approval (MIZAN NEWSLETTER No.1 of 1961, pp.2-4). In an authoritative comment on the Moscow conference statement Ye. Zhukov said that at the present time "one of the chief new tasks of the Communist Parties is that of struggle for the creation of states of national democracy". Yet Fuad Nassar seems already to be disparaging "national democracy" as a partial and inadequate stage in the "national liberation" process. Is he merely speaking out of turn, unsupported by Soviet opinion on the subject?

As often happens, the more guarded and conciliatory statements of some Soviet commentators on this issue are offset by other more uncompromising Soviet reaffirmations of basic Communist doctrine.

At least one Soviet writer already looks beyond the stage of

"national democracy", and gives "national democracy" itself a more radical interpretation than that which appears in the Moscow conference statement. A. Arzumanyan, in MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA No.2 of 1961, says that national democracy is "not yet socialism, but the transitional stage to socialism". He adds that "as the masses become disillusioned with the bourgeois leadership, the power and influence of the Communist Parties increase". Capitalism, he says, is becoming increasingly discredited:

> "The worker and peasant masses are beginning to realize more and more clearly that the capitalist road of development cannot raise their countries from their condition of age-old backwardness. For these masses capitalism is associated with the imperialist yoke. They know no other capitalism, and none other in fact exists. The Communists, heading the struggle for a non-capitalist road of development, demonstrate that in the framework of capitalism the under-developed countries will remain backward."

Thus Fuad Nassar, in pointing out that the successes of the Arab national movement have all been "within the framework of capitalism", and that this does not go far enough, can claim Soviet support for his statements.

Anti-Communism in the Arab countries Having thus defined the role of Communism in the Arab national movement, Fuad Nassar goes on to speak of the movement's successes in the years 1952-8 - the frustration of Western military plans in the Arab world, the removal of Faruq, Nuri as-Sa'id, the Bey of Tunis, Shishakli and Chamoun, the defeat of Western intervention in Egypt, Jordan and the Lebanon, etc. All these successes, he says, were achieved through "the unity of the national front in every Arab country and the general solidarity of the Arab peoples", and thanks to "firm friendship with the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, and its unselfish aid".

However, Fuad Nassar continues, as class conflicts became more acute, "the national bourgeoisie began to appear more and more inclined towards conciliation with internal reaction and imperialism". In Jordan the national government was dissolved, and in Syria "the democratic regime was destroyed". Bourgeois circles in the UAR have opened the doors to US, West German, Italian and Japanese capital; Britain and France have begun to regain their former positions; the oil companies are exerting pressure on Iraq and other Arab countries by curtailing production and lowering prices; Israel's aggressive activities have increased; economic aid to Oman has been cut off. "The prisons of the UAR, Iraq, the Sudan and Jordan are now full of thousands of honest fighters - Communists, demo-

crats, trade unionists, progressive writers and journalists, etc.; the terror is unconcealed, and the murders of patriots are carried out quite openly."

Anti-Communism, says Fuad Nassar, assists neither the working class nor the national bourgeoisie, but only the monopolists and the adherents of the old regime, and the imperialist and Zionist forces which are awaiting their chance to deprive the Arab peoples of their independence. The reactionaries hope to break up the national front in the Arab countries and to destroy the relations between the independent Arab states and the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union.

> "The anti-Communist campaign is directed above all to destroying democratic freedoms, to turning towards dictatorship, and to undermining national independence and restoring imperialist rule...But no force, however great, and however perfected in the policy of dictatorship, oppression and lies, can prevent the Communists from carrying out their duty."

Middle East Communists, and their Soviet supporters, usually denounce their opponents in the name of democracy; but this seems to be the first time that, in a Soviet publication, the regime of these opponents has been described as "dictatorship".

THE WORKING CLASS IN EGYPT

Soviet orientalists are frequently reminded that one of their principal tasks is the study of the working class of eastern countries. They are usually told, at the same time, that more effort must be directed to research into the workers' movement.

A leading article in PROBLEMY VOSTOKOVEDENIYA No.1 of 1959, outlining the tasks facing Soviet orientalists in the light of the XXIst CPSU Congress, stated that the study of the position of the working class and the workers' movement in the countries of the East was "a backward department of oriental studies". Research workers were neglecting such important problems affecting newly independent countries as "the struggle of the working class for a rise in the standard of living and the role of the working class in the industrialization of economically under-developed countries and in all social and state life". The Communist and workers' parties had achieved considerable successes in a number of sovereign countries of the East, but nevertheless "the circle of research orientalists studying the workers' movement in countries of the East is still

very narrow". The agrarian structure of eastern countries and the reforms and changes of post-war years were insufficiently studied, and the growth of class struggle among the peasantry, with the working class striving for leadership of the peasant movement, was a subject that had received "completely inadequate attention".

A year later the same complaint was again made. A leading article in PROBLEMY VOSTOKOVEDENIYA No.1 of 1960 said that Soviet orientalists had done much in the study of economic problems affecting the non-socialist sovereign countries of the East; but the elucidation of the special characteristics of the workers' and peasants' movements, which was so important for understanding the development of independent national states in the East, was still very far from adequate.

However, no work on the present situation of the working class of any Middle Eastern country has so far appeared in the Soviet Union. Various articles on the situation of the working class in Turkey (MIZAN NEWSLETTER No.4 of 1960, pp.2-5) and in Persia have indeed been written; but, whatever study may have been made of the working class and the workers' movement in the Arab world today, nothing has yet appeared on the subject. Such a study, and the unfavourable conclusions which it would have to draw about the situation of "the working class and its Party" in such countries as the UAR and Iraq, would presumably be politically undesirable from the Soviet point of view.

F.M. Atsamba's THE FORMATION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN EGYPT AND ITS ECONOMIC SITUATION (1914-1952), published by the Moscow University Publishing House in 1960, seems to be an attempt to fulfil official requirements without the necessity for drawing any conclusions about the situation of the working class under the present UAR regime, and without too obvious an infusion of "proletarian class ideology".

The formation of the Egyptian working class, says Atsamba, has been conditioned by the domination of foreign and principally British capital in industry, and the continuance of feudalism in agriculture. The development of national industry was prevented by the competition of foreign capital. The middle and petty bourgeoisie were "under the permanent threat of ruin", while the working class and peasants were doomed to hunger and destitution. "All this created the objective conditions for the formation of a broad democratic national front, uniting the workers, the peasant masses, the middle classes of the urban population and important sections of the national bourgeoisie for the struggle against imperialism." The anti-imperialist revolution of 1952 had put an end to British occupation, instituted measures of agrarian reform, started the development of a national industry and put in hand a number of social, legal and cultural reforms. Foreign capital, however, had only been dealt a blow and had not "finally lost its positions"; the Egyptian people's

hard task was now "to eject imperialist monopolies from all sectors of the national economy", and this called for "the union and solidarity of all the progressive forces of the Egyptian people, independent of their class allegiance and political persuasions".

This, then, the legacy of foreign economic domination and a feudal agrarian system, might seem to be the main theme of the book, rather than those actual prospects for further working-class "struggle" which Soviet orientalists are officially expected to assess. However, in his chapter "The Composition of the Egyptian Working Class", Atsamba makes some observations which indicate that, whatever his stated theme, he is also looking at the Egyptian working class in the light of its potentialities for organized political struggle. Having said that the national homogeneity of the Egyptian working class is "of enormous importance for the organization of the proletariat", he goes on to enquire whether its social composition, "the composition of its basic strata", is equally homogeneous; such homogeneity, he says, is "of particular importance for the practical activity of a party of the proletariat".

Atsamba explains his meaning by a quotation from Stalin. Stalin, he says, distinguished three "strata" in the proletariat: first, its basic mass of "pure-blooded" proletarians, who have long since broken their links with the capitalist class - "this stratum of the proletariat is the most reliable support of Marxism"; second, those who have only recently emerged from the non-proletarian classes, from the peasantry, petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia - these are still unreliable, and fruitful ground for anarchist and "ultra-Left" groups; third, the "working aristocracy", the well-to-do upper crust of the proletariat, striving for compromise with the bourgeoisie - the most fruitful ground for "reformists and opportunists".

The Egyptian working class, Atsamba apparently considers, does not wholly belong to the first of these categories. In many basic industries work is only seasonal; the workers have not broken their links with the village and with agriculture. For their work in industry they are paid little more than for their work in the fields. "The process of the pauperization of the basic mass of the Egyptian peasantry proceeded far more rapidly than the process of its joining the proletariat (proletarizatsiya)." Nevertheless, the author concludes, a "permanent proletariat" has been slowly but steadily forming in the main industrial centres.

The above, however, is only the main substance of a small, though perhaps central, chapter of the book. The contents of the other chapters are briefly noted below.

Chapter I, "The Influence of the Peculiarities of the Development of Industry in Egypt on the Process of the Formation of the Working Class".

The effects of British economic domination from the end of the 19th century; Egypt regarded solely as a source of raw materials for foreign industry and a market for foreign industrial products; suppression of Egypt's local industries by discriminatory tariffs and excise duties; up to 1914, domination of foreign monopolies in such industries as there were, e.g. cotton-ginning, sugar and tobacco; limited participation of national bourgeoisie in industry after the First World War; growth of the textile industry in the 1930s; predominance of small workshops with less than 10 employees; low technical level; lack of heavy industry; seasonal nature of certain industries; effect of Second World War on industry and increase in size of factories and therefore of the proletariat; post-war competition in the Egyptian market, particularly between Britain and the US; continued domination of foreign capital; increased American penetration.

Chapter II, "The Influence of Egypt's Agrarian System on the Formation of the Working Class". The impoverishment of the peasants is the main source of the working class; the adaptation of feudal land relations to the demands of colonial exploitation; specialization in cotton, and the resultant dependence of the peasants on world cotton prices; big landowners favoured by the British at the expense of the peasants; foreign speculation in land; increase in the number of poor peasants and decrease in the size of their plots; lack of outlet in a deliberately underdeveloped industry for the impoverished peasants, who were forced to stay on the land and suffer grievous exploitation by landowners, money-lenders, kulaks and a whole army of middlemen; the various forms of land-working and land rent; comparative agrarian over-population; effect of this on the labour market, where the low demands of the impoverished peasants affected the general wage of industrial workers; vital interest of workers in the elimination of feudal survivals.

Chapter IV, "The Economic Position of the Egyptian Working Class". The absolute impoverishment of the working class inevitable under the capitalist system, as shown by the fact that Egyptian workers received much less than a living wage and that the real value of wages constantly decreased; simultaneous comparative impoverishment of the working class, whereby its share in the wealth produced went down; long working hours; general disregard for such labour legislation as was introduced in the 1930s; employment of cheap female and child labour; increase in tempo of work to get more profits, with resultant high accident rate; low wages not due to low productivity but to enormous profits taken by the capitalists; effect of enormous army of unemployed, for whom the government did nothing; mendicancy as a result of unemployment; the evils of the system of middlemen ("raises"); the role of money-lenders; the unjust system of fines in factories; the appalling slums.

Soviet writers often contrive to give the impression that it is only

they who show up real conditions in eastern countries, in contrast to capitalist writers who aim at concealing them. But, in view of the fact that Atsamba's work depends almost entirely for its documentation on Western or (pre-1952) Egyptian sources, it is difficult to see how this fiction can be maintained as regards the situation of the working class in Egypt. However, Atsamba himself gives no credit to the official and other sources which he uses; instead he accuses them of concealing the true state of affairs, which, he insists, was far worse than these sources allow to appear.

THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE SOVIET PRESS

Below are reviewed reports on Middle East events appearing in Soviet newspapers during the period 25th February - 10th April.

UAR In his message of greetings to President Nasir on the occasion of the National Day of the UAR Khrushchev expressed satisfaction at the correspondence of the Soviet and UAR points of view on such important questions as the struggle for peace and for disarmament and "for the final liquidation of the system of colonialism". He expressed confidence in the further development of the all-round cooperation between the Soviet Union and the UAR (PRAVDA 5.3.61).

IZVESTIYA (31.3.61) published an article on the interest shown in Soviet exhibits at the international agricultural fair in Cairo. TRUD (6.4.61) published a report by its special correspondent I. Penchenko on the reactions of visitors to the Soviet pavilion; for the citizens of the UAR and the representatives of other African countries, he said, the Soviet pavilion was "a school of advanced knowledge" which in brotherly fashion the "first state of workers and peasants in the world" shared with them.

Iraq TRUD (7.3.61) reported an article in the French Communist organ HUMANITE protesting against the sentences passed on Iraqi "patriots and democrats who took an active part in suppressing the counter-revolutionary revolt in Mosul". Later (9.3.61) TRUD reported a letter of protest sent by the CGT to the Iraqi President, and (24.3.61) a similar letter sent to Qasim by a group of Lebanese journalists and others.

A Tass dispatch from Baghdad on the second anniversary of the Soviet-Iraqi economic agreement (KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA 18.3.61) noted the

progress already made in Soviet projects. Projects already completed, it said, included four agricultural machine stations, state cotton and rice farms and a medicinal plants farm, covering a total area of 57,000 dunams. Exploratory work on irrigation, power and drainage projects and geological prospecting was "proceeding on a wide front".

PRAVDA (17.3.61) published a report by its Baghdad correspondent P. Demchenko on the progress being made on the Soviet project for a new Baghdad-Basrah railway line. The engineer responsible, A.I. Osipov, said Demchenko, had produced his plans a month ahead of schedule; work was beginning from both the Baghdad and Basrah ends, and imposing quantities of Soviet equipment were arriving in the port of Basrah.

Yemen The Soviet press gave much publicity to the official handing over to the Yemeni Government of the port of Ahmadi, the new port for Hudaydah constructed with Soviet aid (see MIZAN NEWSLETTER No.1 of 1960, pp.6-7). A Soviet Government delegation headed by the Minister of Marine V.G. Bakayev travelled to Ahmadi on the Soviet motorship Latviya for the ceremony, which took place on 2nd April (PRAVDA 2 and 3.4.61; IZVESTIYA 4.4.61). A special correspondent of Tass (IZVESTIYA 9.4.61) described a meeting between local Yemeni merchants and the Soviet delegation, who expressed their hopes for a further expansion of Soviet-Yemeni trade. IZVESTIYA (26.3.61) published a long account of the construction of the port, by G. Pyasentskiy, the head of the team of Soviet engineers.

Tass (SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA 16.2.61) reported that the Soviet Red Cross and Red Crescent had sent to the Yemen a gift of flour, tenting and cement to relieve suffering caused by the great fire in Hudaydah at the end of January, as a result of which thousands of the inhabitants were homeless.

Saudi Arabia Soviet newspapers published without comment the news that Saudi Arabia had decided not to renew the lease of the US air base at Dahran, after its expiry in April 1962 (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 18.3.61; TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA 19.3.61).

Lebanon Soviet newspapers reported the Lebanese Government's withdrawal of permission for units of the US Sixth Fleet to visit the port of Beirut on 20th March, and its subsequent decision to allow the visit (TRUD 8.3.61; KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 10.3.61, 21.3.61 and 26.3.61; PRAVDA 14.3.61). Protests by the Lebanese press against the visit were quoted. An article in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (24.3.61) by Lt. Col. V. Lezvin and Major V. Polyanskiy said that the US Government had applied "undisguised pressure" on the Lebanese Government.

A Tass dispatch from Beirut (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 12.3.61) said that, according to certain Lebanese newspapers, "the British Embassy and intelligence service" had organized the attempt on the life of the Lebanese Premier Sa'ib Salam.

Turkey PRAVDA (18.3.61) published the exchange of messages between Khrushchev and Gen. Gursel on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Soviet-Turkish treaty of 16th March 1921. Newspaper comments on the anniversary (PRAVDA 16.3.61; IZVESTIYA 16.3.61) expressed the hope that Turkey, following the principles of Ataturk, would strive for good-neighbourly relations between the two countries.

Persia IZVESTIYA (27.2.61) published a long article by L. Alekseyev on the 40th anniversary of the Soviet-Persian treaty of 26th February 1921. Alekseyev maintained that friendly relations with the USSR had always served the interests of the Persian people; he cited Afghanistan and Finland as examples of neighbours of the Soviet Union which would never allow any outside forces to influence their good-neighbourly relations with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union for its part was striving for such relations with Persia, and hoped that the same goodwill would be shown by the Persian side, not only in words but in deeds.

PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA (14.3.61) noted that in his speech to the Majlis presenting his new government the Persian Premier Sharif Imami expressed the hope for better relations with the Soviet Union; he hoped that as a result of his good will mission to Moscow misunderstandings which had recently arisen would give place to complete confidence. However, it was noted that the Premier also spoke of Persia's "very close and friendly relations" with the USA.

A F R I C A

AFRICAN STUDIES IN MOSCOW

A Russian proverb says: "Do not thrust yourself into another's monastery with your own rule." One should perhaps bear it in mind when attempting to describe the academic institutions of another society. Nevertheless it is useful sometimes when looking at other institutions to note where and how they differ from one's own, and to record what jars and what appears to be constructive.

Characteristics of the Soviet approach In October 1959 African studies in Moscow were coordinated in the Africa Institute of the Academy of Sciences under the direction of Prof. I.I. Potekhin. The Institute has a staff of three or four senior research associates, and a large number of junior research associates. In addition to this group, individual senior members of the Institutes of Ethnography, of World Economics, and of Oriental Studies specialize in African problems and provide several of the most consistent writers on Africa in the Academy's journals. The Africanists individually have degrees in History, Economics, Philology and Ethnography, that is to say, they represent a fair cross-section of the humanities but with a bias to modern studies.

Professor S.P. Tolstov, in a paper presented to the International Anthropologists' Congress last August, described the use of the term "ethnography" in Russian as follows: "Ethnography is used as a comprehensive term for the whole complex of disciplines covering research in the specific features of culture and way of life of both European and non-European peoples... We class ethnography in the complex of historical studies. At the same time we look at ethnography as at a cross-faculty field - on the one hand between the several branches of history, and on the other between history and a series of other branches of the humanities and sciences, first and foremost among them being the various geographic disciplines. If one can call economic geography the bridge between geography and economics, then ethnography can be called the link between geography and history." (SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA No.6 of 1960).

So far, the pattern is the familiar one of trying to find an effec-

tive compromise between functional studies and regional studies, or rather of trying to bring specialized academic disciplines to the study of a given region. The strong emphasis on ethnography makes the "regional" aspect of the studies more important than the "functional", the "ethnic" approach more prominent than that through political science. The recent change in the titles of the Institutes sponsoring the journal PROBLEMY VOSTOKOVEDENIYA to Institut Narodov Azii and Institut Narodov Afriki ("Institute for the study of the Peoples of Asia", and "Institute for the study of the Peoples of Africa") is a token of this. In deciding on what regions to concentrate its resources, the Academy of Sciences has been quick to choose Asia and now Africa. Members of the Academy make no secret of the fact that this was done to meet the needs and demands of the Party and of the state; the discussions at the XXth and XXIst Party Congresses, the introduction to almost any Soviet symposium on Asia or Africa, or the editorial of almost any issue of PROBLEMY VOSTOKOVEDENIYA or of SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA confirm this. At the same time, such a choice can bring a certain corrective to what tends in Western Europe to become a set way of looking at problems of sociology or government always in terms of West European thought and experience (including that thought and experience as carried over to America and the old Dominions).

A cross-faculty approach, using ethnography as the cohesive element, has a good deal to recommend it, and is reminiscent of ideas for area studies in some of the American universities. As counter-balance, however, it calls for analytic study of political institutions as well as of economics, and in both these respects the Moscow Institute is weak.

The emphasis on modern problems within the framework of African regional studies rather than on archaeology, linguistics or early history is characteristic of Moscow as compared with Leningrad. Both Mr. Mikoyan and Prof. Gafurov laid stress on contemporary problems in their speeches at the opening session of the Orientalists' Congress last August. For Africa, this means the study of very recent history and of contemporary events. The African Institute in Moscow does not train African philologists or historians as such.

Organization of the Africa Institute The first point that strikes a visitor is that whereas in the West academic research institutions are by and large embedded in the universities, and research is carried out in close proximity to teaching, the Institutes of the Academy of Sciences are in the main divorced from the corresponding university departments. Individual members sometimes have a dual capacity, and lecture or supervise post-graduate students in the University, but on the whole the Institutes are not intimately concerned with university development and teaching of their subjects. Those engaged in the social sciences are more closely concerned with specialist journalism, with the production of

works of reference and of textbooks for polytechnic or extra-mural use, and with the training of foreign service and ministry personnel. This seems to be particularly true of the Africa Institute. It may be partly because its subject is rather too specialized to be useful for undergraduate teaching, but it appears also to be due to the pressure put on it quickly to produce specialists in a field of study which has become politically very important in a short time. Broad, generalized studies, with marked political bias, are produced, rather than slow-maturing work in depth (there are, of course, one or two notable exceptions to this). Articles tend to be rather trivial comments on current affairs, rather than the results of original thought or work. Again, the Africa Institute is in a peculiar position in that field work has been impossible for most of its research associates, and it is difficult to make original contributions to knowledge in such circumstances. But even taking this into account, it remains a valid criticism that the type of work that is produced is often rather diffuse and immature journalism rather than serious intellectual enquiry.

As regards editorial activity, Prof. Potekhin is on the board of SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA and Dr. Yastrebova on that of PROBLEMY VOSTOKOVEDENIYA. These are the two most serious journals. Dr. G. Skorov is on the board of MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA and several members of the Institute contribute regularly to it on African affairs. This journal is a politico-economic review of current affairs for the more or less informed reader. Finally, Prof. B. Gafurov and Dr. V. Lutskiy are on the board of SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK, the popular illustrated monthly on Asian and African affairs. Western readers find it impossible to accept that such a tendentious journal can appear under the high authority of the Academy of Sciences.

The production of popular texts on Africa for polytechnic classes and for extra-mural study could become a useful function of individual Soviet Africanists. The picture of Africa they present for general consumption will be analysed in detail in a later issue of the Newsletter. But it is worth noting here that to make even a superficial awareness of Africa fairly widespread among the general public and the growing generation could in itself be a worthwhile service. In regard to Africa there is a great deal to be done in this respect. Since nearly all the relevant material is in English, French or German, and so not easily accessible to the great majority of Soviet readers, the various booklets produced by members of the Africa Institute, although they may seem elementary, can reap high dividends for the Soviet Union, particularly during a period of increased practical contact between Soviet technicians or rank-and-file personnel and people in all walks of life in the emergent African countries.

The use of the Institute as a training ground for ministry and

service personnel produces a very close inter-connection between the demands of what one might call "applied politics" and those of academic research. On the one hand, research associates whose sole function is the gathering of material are attached to Soviet legations and other missions to African states. On the other, graduates become members of the Institute whose ultimate aims are not in university teaching or research, but in a political or a party career. This organizational link, though it may provide the Party or the government with knowledgeable personnel, weights the scales very much against academically independent views. It would be foolish to think that this is accidental. The target and function of research was described in the following words in SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA (No.3 of 1959) shortly after the XXIst Party Congress: "In conclusion one must stress a very important matter arising from the targets set by the XXIst Congress of the CPSU for all research workers of our land, namely the need to strengthen the link between academic work and day-to-day life, which is, in effect, the building of Communist society. This target must be interpreted as a call by our Party during the next seven years not only to analyse and elucidate the most pressing problems in the social sciences, but also to hasten the moment when our investigations can be put to practical effect."

Such an approach to academic research is fraught with danger, both to the quality of the research itself and to the use to which it is put. Indeed, it seems that every organizational measure which removes an academic institute however little from the exigencies of policies and events is desirable, more particularly in the case of an institute which works in an acutely polemical field of studies of immediate political consequence. This difference of attitude is one of the barriers one must recognize. Prof. Potekhin in his greetings to the Orientalists' Congress welcomed outside contacts and discussions with colleagues from other countries. Where such contacts lead to genuine professional conversations, they negotiate the barriers. One needs to be fully aware of the differences of approach in order to pick one's way to any worthwhile contact.

AFRICA'S FUTURE: THE SOVIET VIEW

An abridgement of Dr. I.I. Potekhin's booklet AFRIKA SMOTRIT V BUDUSHCHEYE (AFRICA LOOKS AHEAD - Moscow 1960) accompanies this issue. The booklet is designed to give the Soviet reader a grounding in the correct theoretical approach to Africa's problems. For the non-Communist reader it is a timely and illuminating exposé of Soviet Communist views on the future for Africa.

The first and longest section of the booklet amounts to a championship of Marxist-Leninist "scientific socialism" as the correct road for the African peoples to follow. Potekhin rejects the idea that Africa has peculiarities of its own which require it to take its own special road to an "African socialism". Africa, he says, is no exception to the Marxist-Leninist laws of historical development; the claim that classes do not exist in Africa is erroneous; the African peasant commune is not in itself socialist, though it may afford a point of departure towards socialism provided that guidance and control is in the hands of the proletariat. The experience of the Soviet Union in these matters, and its material and cultural achievements under the guidance of Marxist-Leninist theory, are held up as examples for Africa. It is significant that Potekhin should at the outset declare where the Soviet Union stands on the question of the application of Marxism-Leninism to Africa.

Potekhin then examines the degree of political and economic independence achieved by different African countries. Reviewing the situation in the still dependent countries, he says that the problem of white settlers in Kenya, Southern Rhodesia and Algeria must be settled on the basis of equal rights for all; the Africans do not actually demand the eviction of Europeans from these countries, or from South Africa. As regards the countries now politically independent, independence is not complete without economic independence. Soviet aid can be of great importance in promoting this. It may be noted that Potekhin here speaks appreciatively of the importance of state economic control, although in his first chapter he insists that state capitalism is still exercised in the interests of the bourgeoisie and is far from socialism.

The third section offers some ideas on how African territories should have been divided to accord with ethnic groupings. Most African peoples, says Potekhin, are not yet nations in the sense of the term defined by Stalin. The problem of a national language has not yet been solved. Moves towards African unity, whether in the form of a "United States of Africa" or of smaller-scale initiatives towards regional federal groupings, are described as "progressive", but Khrushchev's warning against hurry in such matters is quoted.

Potekhin next examines psychological aspects of the African independence movement, and the African's desire to assert the validity of his own culture. The question whether to adopt European cultural values, says Potekhin, was correctly solved in Russia, and African peoples will no doubt do the same. The "African personality" concept is of positive value, but that of "negritude" is open to question; it is pan-Negro rather than pan-African, and it may lead to a racialist attitude towards Europeans, which is to be deplored. The African peoples have always had the moral and political support of the working class of the whole world and its Communist Parties. Potekhin seems to have in

mind here that African hostility to the European could seriously damage the chances for Communist influence in Africa.

In conclusion, as might be expected, Potekhin speaks of the role which independent African countries can play in major international issues, and of their necessary realization that, while the Western countries led by the USA are enemies of their independence, the socialist countries and the USSR are its best friends and supporters.

Unlike many other Soviet writers Potekhin, with his first-hand experience of African countries, writes with a close eye to African realities. He has evidently considered carefully what ideological concessions, from the Soviet point of view, can be made to prevailing African trends of thinking. A close examination of his statements reveals no significant departure from orthodox Soviet doctrine; but on many issues he clarifies the Soviet point of view in a way which has not been done before.

AFRICA IN THE SOVIET PRESS

Below are reviewed reports on African affairs appearing in the Soviet press during the period 26th February - 28th March 1961.

Congo

Khrushchev's message to Nehru On 26th February PRAVDA published a message from Khrushchev, of some 4,000 words, addressed to the Indian Premier, dated 22nd February. On the same day, said PRAVDA, Khrushchev "sent messages to the heads of states or heads of governments of other countries of Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin America".

The first part of the message is largely taken up with attaching the blame for Lumumba's murder - to Hammarskjoeld ("To put it bluntly, it was Hammarskjoeld who murdered Lumumba"); to Tshombe, Mobutu and Kasavubu ("petty individuals who are ready to serve anyone at all but their own people so long as they are well paid"); and to Belgium and her NATO allies (these are not actually mentioned by name). From the beginning, says Khrushchev, the UN Congo operation, used by the colonialists in their own interests, was directed against Lumumba and his government. In such a situation the socialist and neutral countries cannot remain silent. Hammarskjoeld, after "this villainy perpetrated with the connivance of the UN", has no right to retain his post. But in the present state of

affairs "the UN machinery will in any case be headed by a stooge of the colonial and imperialist powers who will protect their interests". The reorganization proposed by the Soviet Union, with three Secretaries representing respectively the Western powers, the socialist states and the neutralist countries, is not aimed at obtaining any special privileges for the socialist countries, but at giving equal opportunities to all groups of states in the UN and preventing them imposing their will on one another. Only thus can the UN be a truly international organization. As regards Lumumba's murder, Tshombe and Mobutu, who are now planning new crimes and campaigns, must be immediately arrested and brought to trial and their gangs disarmed. Certain countries are withdrawing their troops from the UN force; it is not impossible that Hammarskjoeld will invite to the Congo the land forces of the Western military blocs. The Congo's independence, and the UN's prestige, demand the immediate termination of the UN Congo operation and the withdrawal of all foreign forces, so that the Congolese people can manage their own affairs. The legitimate government headed by Antoine Gizenga has appealed for aid; the Soviet Government, with other friendly states, is prepared to render such assistance. This will not extend the "cold war" to the Congo, as some claim; the interference in the Congo is coming from the colonialists, and other states are supporting the Congolese people in opposing this interference. To restore the Congo's independence a commission should be set up composed of representatives of the African countries whose troops were sent to the UN in accordance with the Security Council decision; in full contact with the legitimate government of Antoine Gizenga it should supervise measures to oust the aggressors, terminate foreign interference in any form and create normal conditions for the work of the Congolese Government and parliament.

Soviet reports on world reactions to Khrushchev's message spoke of the "close attention" given to it in the USA and Western countries, the lively interest shown in India and neutral countries, and the warm support expressed in the Communist countries, including China.

PRAVDA reported, under the heading "The UN structure is behind the times", Mr. Nehru's press conference in Cairo at which he said that in his opinion neither Asia nor Africa were represented to the proper extent in the Security Council.

Lumumba Much material concerning Lumumba and his murder continued to be published in the Soviet press. PRAVDA published (26.2.61) a drawing of Lumumba's children done in Cairo, with a short article, by N. Osenev, and (27.2.61) Lumumba's last letter to his wife, as published in UNITA of 21st February. IZVESTIYA reported (27.2.61) an article in the Nigerian newspaper WEST AFRICAN PILOT demanding the immediate arrest and punishment of Tshombe, an article in the Ghana EVENING NEWS denouncing

Hammarskjoeld as the organizer of Lumumba's murder, a peace partisans' meeting in Baghdad at which Col. Mahdawi declared that full responsibility for the crime rested on Hammarskjoeld, and the account of Lumumba's murder given by a German officer to correspondents in Rome and published in the DAILY SKETCH and AURORE of 24th February. IZVESTIYA also published (10.3.61) an article by the Turkish writer Yashar Kemal in memory of Lumumba, which appeared in CUMHURIYET of 19th February. A soiree devoted to Lumumba's memory was held in Moscow; Dr. Potekhin, Director of the African Institute, and V. Martynov were the chief speakers (IZVESTIYA 2.3.61). A book, PATRICE LUMUMBA, has been published (PRAVDA 9.3.61).

The UN proceedings and US policy Soviet newspapers gave, without comment, a fairly full report of Dr. Nkrumah's address to the General Assembly on 7th March and his proposals for a solution of the Congo problem. In its report of the Assembly proceedings of 21st March PRAVDA gave a long account of Mr. Gromyko's speech, but published no report of Mr.Stevenson's reply to it.

The speech made by Mr. Stevenson at a luncheon in New York on 2nd March, however, was the subject of a long article in IZVESTIYA (10.3.61), signed "Observer". Stevenson, said IZVESTIYA, had admitted what was obvious to all, that colonial empires were now breaking up; but the inference he drew was that they would be replaced by American influence. He had said that the task of reducing the present world tension fell to the UN; but in fact the UN could not accomplish this task with its present structure, and the USA had rejected the Soviet proposals for improving this structure. He had accused the Soviet Union of wanting to take the place of Belgium in the Congo; but whose money was it that supported the puppets in Leopoldville, Katanga and elsewhere? He had ended by addressing himself to the Soviet Union and declaring that there were "deeper and more immutable laws of history than those of Marx and Lenin"; but history had shown that Marx and Lenin were right, and oblivion had overtaken their critics. The bankruptcy of the Dulles-Eisenhower government was in effect the bankruptcy of the "big stick" policy; it was a pity that Stevenson, attaching himself to their philosophy, was only providing grist to the mill of the proponents of the "cold war".

The Tananarive talks The decisions of the Tananarive conference of Congolese leaders - Kasavubu, Ileo, Tshombe, Kalonji and others - were denounced in the Soviet press as a plot to dismember the Congo. PRAVDA (11.3.61) said that the line which had prevailed at the conference was that of Tshombe and his separatist supporters, acting in the interests of the colonialists. N. Prozhogin (PRAVDA 12.3.61) said that the conference's decision to recognize the states which now existed in the Congo de

facto or de jure amounted to "a new variant of the colonialists' principle of divide and rule"; Tshombe, Hammarskjoeld's friend, had unmasked both himself and his master by calling for a "common front" against the latest Security Council decisions on the Congo; but the lawful government of the Congo headed by Antoine Gizenga had had nothing to do with the conference, despite lying Western reports that Gizenga was going to it. Tass (PRAVDA 17.3.61) reported the Ghana Foreign Ministry statement expressing the view that Kasavubu, in agreeing to proposals contrary to the Congolese Constitution, had in effect renounced for himself the post of President. Another PRAVDA article by Prozhogin (20.3.61) made the same point, and also said that the "puppets" in Tananarive, in declaring Gizenga's government "outside the law" if it refused to adhere to their decision, had in fact declared themselves outside the law.

The Stanleyville government Statements by the Stanleyville leaders were given prominence in the Soviet press. PRAVDA (1.3.61) published an interview given by Gen. Victor Lundula to the Tass correspondent in Stanleyville G. Fedyashin; Lundula explained why he had lost confidence in the activities of the UN. Statements by the Cairo mission of the Stanleyville government were widely quoted. The Stanleyville government's repudiation of the Tananarive conference was emphasized. PRAVDA (27.3.61) published a report from its special correspondent in Stanleyville, T. Kolesnichenko; he said that life was proceeding "normally and calmly" in Stanleyville, and increasing successes against the Leopoldville forces were being scored. A letter received by the government from Kamitatu, Premier of the Leopoldville provincial government, had been welcomed in Stanleyville; Kamitatu had called for unity of all parties in the Congo, in the name of the principles for which Lumumba had fought and died.

Portuguese Africa

The disorders in Angola were publicized in the Soviet press. N.Kuznetsov (IZVESTIYA 10.3.61) spoke of "the fire of the national liberation movement in Angola, the biggest Portuguese colony and the richest in natural resources". He quoted a London representative of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola as saying that in the anti-Salazar disturbances of 4th-5th February in Luanda 94 Africans were killed, some hundreds wounded and 300 persons arrested, and that in the attack on Sao Paolo prison and police HQ on 15th February 100 Africans were killed; the numbers of those arrested had risen to 800, and the prisons were full to overflowing. The events in Angola, said Kuznetsov, had dispelled the myth that the Portuguese possessions were not affected by the revolts which characterized all the backward colonial countries of Africa.

The Security Council discussions on Angola were given prominence in

Soviet newspapers. It was noted (PRAVDA 11.3.61) that the president of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, Mario de Andrade, in a telegram to Khrushchev quoted by the Soviet delegate Zorin, had said that his movement was counting on the Soviet Government's solidarity with the Angola people's struggle for independence. The attitude taken by Britain, France and the USA in the Security Council was criticized; it was noted without comment that the US delegate had voted for the Liberian resolution.

In a dispatch from Cairo (PRAVDA 24.3.61) I. Belyayev gave a lurid description of the conditions of African workers in Mozambique. He remarked that "a recently formed patriotic organization of the Mozambique population has joined the 'African Revolutionary Front of Struggle for the National Independence of the Portuguese Colonies'".

South Africa and the Commonwealth Conference

Dr. Verwoerd's announcement of South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth was given prominence in IZVESTIYA, which published lengthy dispatches by its London correspondent on the proceedings of the conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers. In his first dispatch (IZVESTIYA 10.3.61) Osipov said that the circumstances and atmosphere of the conference were "the most stormy and tense" of any held since the last war, owing to the basic conflicts and antagonism of interests between its members. The "politicians of Whitehall" were making every effort to prevent the conference participants from washing their dirty linen in public, and to prevent them excluding South Africa from the Commonwealth. Reporting Dr. Verwoerd's decision (IZVESTIYA 18.3.61) Osipov said that at the outset of the conference every attempt had been made to "set the scene"; Dr. Verwoerd was to be officially reproved, so as to present the London politicians to the world and African public as "uncompromising fighters for justice", to open a safety valve on the seething African boiler - and to keep South Africa in the Commonwealth. But the public opinion of India, Ceylon, Ghana, Nigeria, Canada and Britain itself was "invisibly present" at the conference, and the elaborately prepared scenery had crashed to the ground. In a later article (IZVESTIYA 22.3.61) Osipov said that, to judge from British press comments, "the ruling circles of Britain are representing themselves as the most ardent opponents of apartheid", but in fact they were not as pleased with the outcome of the conference as might appear at first glance; a comparison of the final communique with such recommendations as THE TIMES had earlier made about the decisions to be taken showed "that Britain has by no means got what she counted on".

PRAVDA (23.3.61) published an article on the conference by its London correspondent N. Filippov, entitled 'New trends in the old Commonwealth". After an account of the alignment of conference members on the

subject of South Africa, Filippov noted that the conference also discussed disarmament and the structure of the UN. On disarmament, Filippov said that British press reports showed that the Afro-Asian countries had wanted "a fuller expression" in the conference communiqué of their peoples' striving towards the relaxation of international tension. On the structure of the UN, Filippov said that the Afro-Asian countries had called for an increase in their countries representation in the UN, but this found no expression in the communiqué, as a result of "pressure by the delegations representing the colonialist circles which are still dominant in a number of countries of the Commonwealth". The British and also American colonialists still possessed "levers", primarily economic, to keep the Commonwealth countries in a subordinate position. "But the chief conclusion from the conference...is that the Afro-Asian members of the Commonwealth are every year beginning to raise their voice in support of a policy conforming with the interests of their countries. The Commonwealth of Nations in its present aspect has already gone a long way forward, in comparison with the past when London and the capitals of the 'white' dominions dictated without hindrance the policy of the British Empire."

Algeria

PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA published comments by their Paris correspondents on the initial agreement by the French Government and the Algerian "provisional Government" to open negotiations. S. Zykov, in IZVESTIYA (18.3.61) said that the first steps had given rise to joyful hopes: it appeared from the French Council of Ministers' statement that France had withdrawn its previous insistence on a cease-fire as a prerequisite for negotiations, and that the negotiations would not be merely confined to the conditions for self-determination of the Algerian people. However, only the procedure for official contacts had been discussed, and there were many difficulties in the way; one must take into account the influence of French and foreign big capital, interested in preserving its positions in Algeria and above all in the Sahara, and the opposition of the French "ultras" and of the reactionary army chiefs to any peaceful settlement.

G. Ratiani, in PRAVDA (21.3.61), reporting French press reactions, said that French newspapers cast doubt on the success of the coming negotiations; demands were being voiced for the maintenance of French control over Algerian oil, for permanent French control over bases such as Mers el-Kebir, and for Algeria's remaining within the NATO bloc.

PRAVDA (24.3.61) reported Ferhat Abbas's appeal to the Algerian people calling for a "more resolute struggle than ever" on the eve of negotiations. IZVESTIYA (28.2.61) said that it was significant that, on the eve of negotiations, the French Premier had declared to oil workers

in the Sahara: "France will in all circumstances remain in the Sahara."

Other Countries

Libya On 7th March a Libyan parliamentary delegation headed by Senator Ahmad Rafiq Mahdawi arrived in Moscow on a visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Supreme Soviet (PRAVDA 8.3.61). It was stated that the delegation would visit Ashkhabad, Mary, Baku, Sochi, Kiev, Stalingrad and Leningrad (PRAVDA 10.3.61). The delegation's visits to Turkmenistan and Azarbaydzhan were prominently reported in the press of these republics.

Mali A mission of friendship and good will from the Mali Republic, led by the Mali Minister of Internal Affairs and Information Madeyra Keyta, visited the Soviet Union from 7th to 21st March. The mission visited Moscow, Leningrad and the Uzbek SSR (PRAVDA 22.3.61). Soviet-Mali agreements on economic and technical cooperation, on trade and on cultural cooperation were signed in the Kremlin on 18th March. The agreement on economic and technical cooperation provides for a long-term credit to Mali of up to 40 million roubles to be spent on technical assistance by Soviet organizations in prospecting for oil, gold, diamonds, raw materials for cement and bituminous shale, in the construction of a cement factory, improving the navigability of the river Niger, building a stadium in Bamako, the establishment of a training centre for local specialists and planning and survey work for a railway. The technical assistance will take the form of planning and prospecting work, the supply of the necessary equipment, machinery and building gear and materials which cannot be obtained in Mali and the dispatch of Soviet specialists to help in training Mali personnel. Under the trade agreement the USSR will send Mali machinery and equipment, rolled steel, cement, oil products, chemical fertilizers, paper, textiles, sugar, foodstuffs and other goods; Mali will export groundnuts, cotton, wool, oilseeds and handicraft wares.

PRAVDA (21.3.61) reported that on 21st March a contract was signed in Moscow, in accordance with the Soviet-Mali trade agreement, for the sale to Mali of IL-18, IL-14 and AN-2 aircraft and MI-4 helicopters, and also various airport equipment.

IZVESTIYA (19.3.61), reporting the withdrawal of French forces from bases in Mali, said: "The liquidation of military bases and the withdrawal of French forces is regarded as an important success of the Mali Republic in its struggle to consolidate its national independence."

KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA (15.3.61) published an account by its corres-

pondent in Mali V. Iordanskiy of steps being taken to institute cooperative farming in the Sikasso district of Mali.

Senegal KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (18.3.61) published a report on joint French-Senegalese naval manoeuvres on 15th-16th March.

Ivory Coast In a short PRAVDA article (19.3.61) Yu. Gavrilov attacked President Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast for adopting "the hackneyed terminology of anti-Communist propaganda" at a recent press conference in Abidjan. Houphouet-Boigny, said Gavrilov, had thought fit to state that behind the positive neutrality of the Bandung Afro-Asian bloc one could "detect China and the Communist world", and had said that for the African countries independence from the West would mean Chinese or Russian Communism. Houphouet-Boigny, Gavrilov went on, probably read "the most double-dyed reactionary American, French and British newspapers"; if so, he would have realized that what he had to fear was not "Communist penetration" in Africa but the colonialists' determined efforts to maintain their positions; the DAILY TELEGRAPH had recently published a map of Africa in the year 2000 which showed the continent still divided up among a number of Western countries.

Ghana PRAVDA (6.3.61) published a message of greetings from Brezhnev and Khrushchev to Dr. Nkrumah on the fourth anniversary of Ghana's independence. The Soviet Central Trade Union Committee sent a message of greetings to the Ghana Trade Union Congress (TRUD 5.3.61). The Soviet Deputy Minister of Culture was the chief speaker at a soiree held to mark the anniversary in the House of Friendship with Peoples of Foreign Countries (TRUD 4.3.61). Newspaper articles on the anniversary applauded the growth of Soviet-Ghanaian relations; PRAVDA's Accra correspondent Orestov noted that a Soviet cultural centre was shortly to be opened in Accra - in it lectures would be given on the Soviet Union, films would be shown, exhibitions held, etc. In the past year 20 young Ghanaians had gone to Moscow to study in the Patrice Lumumba Friendship University; the Soviet Government had offered 50 scholarships in other universities for Ghanaian students; and recently a group of Ghanaian young men and women had left for the USSR to train as doctors, geologists and mining engineers. Twenty-five Ghana cooperative workers were to be admitted for training to the Moscow Cooperative Institute, 12 to universities for specialist courses in agriculture and fishery, and 25 were to attend a one-year course in a cooperative school. Another group were to take a course in banking in the Soviet Union. Ghana Airways had recently bought four IL-18 aircraft; Ghanaian pilots were already being trained in the Soviet Union (PRAVDA 6.3.61).

Nigeria PRAVDA (14.3.61) quoted a report by Marguerite Higgins in the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE to the effect that anti-American feeling in Lagos was running very high, despite the fact that "the US mission there has a special propaganda group of nine persons". The Nigerian newspaper DAILY TELEGRAPH had published an article accusing the USA of providing Kasavubu with arms and stating that the UN was "an American puppet" and that therefore the responsibility for Lumumba's murder lay on America.

Kenya IZVESTIYA (7.3.61) reported that a visit by Soviet tourists to Kenya, Tanganyika and Zanzibar had recently been arranged with a Nairobi travel agency; 15 persons - employees, writers, artists and members of the Africa Institute - were ready to go, but had been refused British visas, without any explanation. "What considerations led the British officials to veto this trip? Is it possible that they are afraid that, as well as the beauties of Kilimanjaro, they may see poverty and the arbitrary rule of the colonialists?" The development of tourism, said IZVESTIYA, meant friendship and international understanding; the refusal of visas to Soviet tourists was part of "cold war" policy.

Somalia PRAVDA (17.3.61) reported that N.A. Mukhitdinov, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, had had talks with Yusuf Osman Samantar, Secretary-General of the Greater Somali League.

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